/372 cont./

627 of the "marabouts"), are solicited. The term of azwag signifies
681 both the "banished" and the "suppliant," double aspect, passive and active, of the notion.

682 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Some twenty years ago one of our officers wrote: "Today, when a murder has been committed, the tribe orders some of its members to go to burn the gutters and other pieces of wood that project from the dwelling of the murderer. This act signifies to the guilty one that he must immediately leave the territory of the tribe. It is later announced: "There is no God but Allah, and Moh'ammed is his Prophet. Hear, O people of the tribe, so-and-so must leave as azwag, and if he is seen among us he must not be pardoned." "In Seksawa, pecuniary reparation is accomplished during the time of exile, whereas elsewhere it is paid on the day of return. This day the murderer, accompanied by the jemâa, presents himself to the parents of the victim, must be the first to greet them deferentially and turn out of their way, while lowering his head."

This notation undoubtedly is in large part the interpretations of an informant. But even as such, how instructive it is that the "supplication" aspect and magical procedures of exclusion come to complicate an operation of public law! We shall not resolve this disparity; it is not the only one that the milieu manifests.

However that may be, the dîâ then paid to the parents was 100 reals and a bovine. In addition, the jemâa collected the provisions for a meal: one sheep, semolina, salted butter, sugar. Let us recognize, moreover, that the old acts almost never anticipated a case of murder, doubtlessly out of fear of bad augury. They were satisfied to decree the punishment incurred by the gesture, that /373/ is, by the intention: two degrees, as will be seen, depending on whether the weapon was brandished or utilized. This is a relatively refined technique. What has left traces, outside of codifications, a veritable literary genre and so abundant that it is surprising that a theory of retaliation has been able to exist in the modern exegesis, are veritable legal papers.

/373 cont./

682 And they express a climate completely different from private vengeance. And here are some examples:

175 683 /The following seven paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Ammern, 1232 Heg.: 1817. A specialist in the examination of wounds (we would say that he evaluates "incapacities") sets the idemnity, leqçaç, corresponding to the loss of an eye. It is a sum of money, it is not the eye of the guilty one!

Ammern, 1167 Heg.: 1754. A father, afflicted by a prodigal and quarrelsome son, settles 80 o. for his account and henceforth disengages himself, min jamf^{c} umur as-sufahâ' wa jamî^{c} il-achrâr, if henceforth the young man should occasion: youthful follies, wounds and bruises inflicted upon others, and for which the old man indemnifies a series of victims for the past, by contract in a way.

175 681 Ammern, 1166 Heg.: 1753. A divorced woman has been sentenced to a heavy fine, 30 o. A third party pays it for her, not without acquiring, it seems, certain rights over the guilty one. In any case, from then on, he relieves her of all responsibility, "as the jackal is relieved of that for the blood of Joseph," picturesque Biblical reminder.

175 683 Tasa, 1242 Heg.: 1827. An expert evaluates the wound, the result of an "act of destiny" inflicted by Lh'sen Ubaha (a euphemism to designate the guilty one), "concerning the head of the old Sâid Wakrim." Valuation.

Fatwa of the son of sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi (1147 Heg.: 1735). The rate applicable to a facial wound is evaluated at 1/12 of the dîâ, in other words 72 mithqâl-s; in coin, ^{c}abbâsîya. This by reference to Khalîl!

175 682 [623] [628] An agreement of 1274 Heg.: 1858 between the jemâa-s of the villages of Tamt'ddit, Tagunit, Tinwalin, Tamezgurt (the Imt'ddan tetrapolis). The piece is written by the hand of the marabout of Assttif, sidi Âbdallah b. Ah'med. It is agreed that the dîâ for voluntary or involuntary homicide is 100 mithqâl-s.

/228 cont./

*634 184 [178] /footnote 2 continued/ that the moqaddem is the base on which all the affairs of the tribe rest."

[613] /229/ Concord is difficult to establish in the bosom of the councils of inflas not provided with a moqaddem, where the only rule appears to be to maintain complete equality among all the *634 representatives of the "ikhs." In order to prevent discords and to 619 come to impose on the strongest groups the decisions made by the 184 other families in conformity with custom, it often happens that the small elementary states of the mountains come out of their isolation and join their neighbors: thus true tribal councils are constituted, in which each "khoms" delegates its inflas. In the Anti-Atlas such are the assemblies of the Aït Mzal, of the Ida Ou [692] Gnidif, of the Aït Wadrim of the mountains; they each bring together 24 representatives who judge crimes in conformity with the ᶜorf (1).

*634 619 692 184 •682 671 [613]

1. In these tribal councils the conditions under which the customary law is applied in case of murder let the laxity of the social institutions be perceived. Among the Ida Ou Gnidif, for example, the inflas friends of the murderer give back to his family the part of the fine that comes to them out of the sum imposed by the tribe. Each one supports his brothers: the "ikhs" are stronger than the tribe. Often, it is true, the customary law foresees this situation, and the ᶜorf intervenes to condemn to increased fines the inflas who try to vouch for their brothers or appeal for them to outside authorities.

Thus each of the council members is ceaselessly impelled in two opposite directions: the duty to protect his brothers or the brothers of his friends, and the desire to take part in the distribution of the goods of the guilty. His conduct is inspired by the circumstances.

726 /273 cont./
*634 vengeance of the exiles. Sometimes in the course of these com-
661 bats the "taqbilt" is seen to split into two groups, each having
578 its chief, who, with arms in hand, dispute the possession of the
613 limitrophe households. The marabouts and the moqaddems of
[616] the friendly leff usually intervene in these circumstances, in
[792] order to re-establish unity somehow or other.

Woe to the amghar who establishes his power without first of
*634 all having had his authority recognized by everyone, if need be
661 by traitorously assassinating his rivals! His career is [illegible]eed
• [682] quickly stopped by the return to fortune of an enemy from the
first hours. This is what happened to a minor amghar of the Sek-
175 sawa in the middle of the last century, Hammo Ou Bella of the
*634 canton of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, father of Si Mokhtar Seksawi, the
578 very one who was later to subjugate part of the mountains, fight
661 victoriously against the Mtouggi, and become the greatest chief
726 of his tribe. Hammo Ou Bella, moqaddem of Awines, had suc-
ceeded in imposing himself upon the notables of his "taqbilt."
In order to consolidate his power and have unity around him, he
[616] threw himself, with the leff of the "Imsifern," into the conquest
of two fractions of the adverse leff, the Aït Mousa and the Sekrat,
these two little groups that his son, after meticulous preparation,
was to annex long years later without striking a blow. But in the
course of these enterprises his own "taqbilt" abandoned him,
following the intrigues of a rival "ikhs" head, El Hajj ʿAli
Hammo, whom he had neglected to get rid of; Hammo Ou Bella
perished, abandoned by his brothers, under the blows of the war-
riors of the defeated fractions.

Si Mokhtar, son of the Moqaddem Hammo Ou Bella, retained
175 the lesson; when he in his turn had taken power and experienced
*634 all the difficulties that the presence of hostile "ikhs" can cause a
613 new amghar, he took advantage of a happy return to fortune to
682 invite all his enemies to a magnificent festival to celebrate the
578 /274/ reconciliation of the parties; then at night, while the
noise of the songs and dances was filling the valley, he discreetly
175 had all his enemies assassinated. The continuation of his policy
*634 was thus simplified, and this fortunate beginning opened up to

/278 cont./

175 neighboring "taqbilt" of the Dir had amghars, Ahmed Ou Bihi
159 among the Aït ʿAbdallah, Mbarek Chtittihi among the Aït Mousa.
*634 Not long after the time when Si Mokhtar, son of the moqaddem Hammo ou Bella, had taken power among the Aït Lhasen, after having cleverly suppressed his enemies, as we have said, the son of a moqaddem of the Idma, Hafid Ou Mohammed n Anino, also obtained from the Aït Arbaʿin of his fraction, thanks to his adroitness, his prestige, and his victories over the nearby fraction of the Intedan, the title of amghar (1898). As is natural, he had to [578] wage a long struggle against his rivals in his own village, then he • [682] killed them and took their property.

175 Favorable circumstances then presented themselves to the
159 new chief of the Idma, who knew how to utilize them fully.
*631 About 1905 the struggle of the two great kaids Mtouggi and
*634 Gontafi for influence was at its height; they were contending for
616 the rich tribes of the Dir and soon the whole mountain was caught
726 up in their intrigues. Si Mokhtar of the Aït Lhasen, of the leff of the "Imsifern," already highly organized in his command, espoused, not without some reticence, the cause of the Mtouggi; the two amghars Ahmed Ou Bihi and Mbarek Chtittihi, neighbors from the foot of the mountain, of the leff of the "Indghertit," wavered about the side to take, while the amghar Hafid of the Idma rallied without hestitation to the Gontafi. After a confused struggle, during which Si Mokhtar had /map appears here/ /279/ the Chtittihi assassinated and defeated the fraction of the Aït ʿAbdallah upon driving away Ahmed Ou Bihi, the amghar of the Idma became sole chief of the leff of the "Indghertit." In the mountains, the struggle of the two great kaids was being carried on by utilizing the rivalry of the two Berbère /Berber/ alliances. Si Mokhtar was the champion of Bouaboud with the "Imsifern" to the extent that his personal interest commanded it. For his part, Hafid easily assembled the forces of the "Indghertit." It was to him that the amghars of the Aït Gaïr and all the high-mountain fractions of the Seksawa came to ask for counsel and support. For twenty years the old amghar of the Idma could profit from the advantages of this role of leff chief; without losing any of his

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 371]

/283 cont./

*634 697 671 for repressing crimes and offenses, by the old law of the "taqbilt," in which the only penalties envisaged are death, exile, and a fine.

*634 616 182 This absence of proper institutions suffices to show how the regime of the amghars represents, at least so long as they remain mere leff chiefs, a transitory and precarious form of political organization. Too close to their brothers to separate from them, they remain enslaved by the traditional rules that they violated by seizing power. They will have to break the bonds of the leffs to succeed in freeing themselves.

*634 616 726 VIII. The amghars and the policy of the leffs. -- For the reasons that we have indicated, the first consequence of the establishment /284/ of personal power is a recrudescence of external wars. The hate of the leffs is exacerbated, and in the course of these struggles one often sees veritable massacres of the defeated take place. We shall soon tell how, about 1870, the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had 60 notables from the leff of the "Aït Atman" killed by having their throats cut, when they were assembled with weapons in the house of his enemy, the amghar Achefar of Tagemout. Only a few years ago, before the conquest of the Souktana by the chiefs of Telwet, more than 100 men were likewise killed like sheep, after having been reduced by thirst in the agadir of Ighri. The internal wars were then caused in this tribe by the dissensions of the amghars, which were to facilitate the arrival of the Glawa.

During this period of political evolution the spirit of solidarity of each of the two opposite sides is thus reinforced, the "taqbilt" are united in war as if they really formed a single family. When the amghar Si Mokhtar Seksawi, of the fraction [682] of the Aït Lhasen, had had his benefactor, the kaid Chtittihi, chief of the Aït Mousa, assassinated, he confiscated all his [628] property and plowed his fields. But when he wanted to pay the blood price, it was to the leff brothers of his victim that he paid the money.

[178] Nevertheless, a prompt weakening soon follows the fever of the first years. As soon as the resources of the amghar are

/289 cont./

*634 613 • 682 [697] This "amghar" has only a house similar to that of the other notables, scarcely decorated with two whitewashed borjs. All his strength is in that of his "brothers," members of his "ikhs" or of his village. They help him make his enemies disappear, for, like the amghar of the high valleys of the Seksawa, the one of the Ida Ou Tanan does not have a prison for keeping them near him. Therefore he kills his adversaries in ambushes, or sometimes, like the amghar Akherraz of the Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun, he seizes them, ties their feet and hands, and has them /290/ hurled into the void from the edge of the mountains, whose abrupt cut dominates the country. At the same time that he asserts his domination, his "ikhs" increases ceaselessly, and at present we see the one of the amghars of the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouazghi, form by its importance and wealth a veritable "afous" or canton, thanks to the fortune acquired by its chiefs for a century.

*634 616 [578] Here there is no leff that can serve the amghar's ambitions. But throughout Berbère /Berber/ country there are discords of cantons and of families that one can fan in order to draw advantages from it. With the money raised by "frida" or gained from pillage, the new chief's party is recruited by the chance of circumstances or of local rivalries. The amghar constitutes his leff himself, crushes the defeated, tames the hostile notables, and, according to the strong Berbère /Berber/ expression: "he mounts them," as one mounts horses or mules, he makes them work for his gain. When he has become strong enough for people to seek his protection internally and his alliance externally, his fortune is made. His authority is recognized by all; he modifies at his pleasure the scales of fines, imposes sanctions as he pleases, without consulting custom. One sees assassins and thieves, threatened by the inflas of the neighboring "afous," come to beg for his support, to offer sacrifices at his door, and to obtain a stop to the pursuits, for the payment of a fine, which unmistakably resembles a gift and which enlarges his war chest.

It seems that in this region the absence of stable and balanced leffs that form an already prepared war organization obliges the chief who wants to assert himself to intervene more

/307 cont./

175 Aït Lhasen of the "Imsifern" leff, had, in the reign of Moulay el
159 Hasan, imprudently tried to seize power without first doing away
*634 with his enemies. Then when he was engaged in the conquest of
726 the hostile cantons, he was betrayed by his men and perished a victim of the hate of the soffs in his own village. It was at this moment that a notable of the canton of the Aït Mousa, a neighbor of the Aït Lhasen, Mbarek Chtittihi, son of a former kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/, took the title of amghar and came to the aid of the son of the moqaddem of Awines. The young Mokhtar, already remarkable for the precocity of his political thinking, succeeded very quickly, with this support, in driving away his enemies. His success was such that his benefactor, the Chtittihi, and another amghar, Ahmed ou Bihi, sheik of the Aït ʿAbdallah, were not long in becoming alarmed about it. As a
*[631] matter of fact, the amghar of the Aït Mousa was cherishing ambitious projects; he had just succeeded in having himself named kaid and was then extending his influence over the Seksawa fractions of the high mountains; it was important for his success that the young chief of the Aït Lhasen remain docilely under his protection.

[682] Si Mokhtar then had, as we have said, the good fortune of succeeding in assassinating his unyielding adversaries in the course of a big repast of reconciliation, which he had presented to the whole fraction in his rebuilt dwelling. After that victory he immediately undertook the conquest of the tribe.

We are going to see him henceforth pursue his work with his indefatigable tenacity.

175 First of all he reduces the little nearby "taqbilt" of the Sehs-
159 of the leff of the "Indghertit," opposed to his own; then since the
*634 Aït ʿAbdallah, of the same leff, have recognized a new chief, the
726 kaid Baddoh, whose mission is to do away with Si Mokhtar, at the
616 instigation of the kaid of Bouaboud, the amghar forestalls the designs of this emissary and has him assassinated. He appears from then on as a leff chief and rallies around him all the "Imsifern."

175 Threatened by the more and more disturbed Chtittihi, Si
159 Mokhtar does not fear starting a struggle against his former
*634
726

/308 cont./

175 159 *634 578 [682] In 1907, when the Gontafi's party succumbs before the coalition of the Mtougga and the Glawa, the struggle becomes more intense. Each of the two amghars tries to have his rival assassinated. The Chtittihi sends one of his friends, Mohammed ou Hammo, to Si Mokhtar's, giving him the mission of killing him by treachery; but the amghar of the Aït Lhasen succeeds in seducing the emissary, and in the night, when the Chtittihi approaches to hear the news of the murder of his enemy, it is he himself who falls under the dagger of Mohammed ou Hammo. For this master stroke the assassin is loaded with favors, and later he will receive the granddaughter of Si Mokhtar in marriage. The drama has hardly been performed /map appears here/ /309/ [726] [712] when the Aït Mousa are attacked; their territory is conquered; the Chtittihi"s villages are razed, and in the middle of his adversary's fields the conquering amghar erects a command-house, which makes his victory definitive.

175 159 *634 631 578 726 616 Si Mokhtar's ambition is not yet satisfied. In 1908, when the amghar of the Aït ʿAbdallah, Ahmed ou Bihi, betrays the cause of the Mtouggi at one time, Si Mokhtar invades his territory and annexes it to his possessions. But at that moment the successes of Si Mokhtar, the cleverness of his policy, the influence he has won over the montagnards of the Seksawa, make him suspect to the kaid of Bouaboud. It is then that the amghar parts company with the great chiefs, from whom he has nothing more to expect. He goes to regain his full liberty, to renew alliances in the leff of the "Imsifem," which he has sometimes had to neglect in the preceding years. At the end of his life, Si Mokhtar succeeds both in fomenting among the Aït Wadouz, of his leff, revolt against Bouaboud and in protecting the dissident "Imsifem" from the Demsira. Some months before his death he finally takes over the nearby fraction of the Igountar, whom he annexes to his command, detaching them from the leff of the "Indghertit."

175 159 *631 *634 By the organization of his command, Si Mokhtar Seksawi, who remained independent in his casbah of Bou Taradin to the end of his life, took on the air of a true kaid, for which he

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 409]

/311 cont./

343 712 621 423 625 [562] Agadir of Tizzirt (Fig. 19). -- Belongs to the village of Tizzirt (50 hearths). Certain inhabitants own up to five chambers there.

Same arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

The guard is usually a man. As an exception, this job was entrusted to a widow in 1928.

Agadir of Annoums (Fig. 8 and Fig. 20). -- It belongs to the village of Annoums (65 hearths).

[465] [685] [184] Five stories, all 80 chambers occupied; the guard receives a kharrouba of barley per chamber and per year. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for the agadir of Ankoutouf.

Agadir of Tamjlojt (Fig. 21). -- It belongs to the village of Tamjlojt (45 hearths). Sixty rooms, four stories. The guard receives one tmen of barley and one kharrouba of maize per room [465] and per year. As an exception, this post was given to a woman [562] last year.

Agadir of Talmakant (Fig. 16). -- It belongs to the village of Talmakant (40 hearths) and comprises 52 large rooms on two stories. It can serve both as storehouse and as réduit for defense [312] in case of attack, because of its cistern and its interior arrangement.

• [682] /312/ It is in ruins in part; it has not been used any more for 25 to 30 years because an assassination was committed there.

Agadir of Assaka (Fig. 17). -- Like the preceding one, it served both as storehouse and as fortress.

[669] It was destroyed in part following internal struggles in 1925, and it is planned to put it back into condition. It serves at pres- [727] ent to shelter the numerous exiles who returned to the tribe after the submission and found their houses demolished.

Agadir of Azar (Fig. 18). -- It belongs to the village of Azar (28 hearths).

It normally serves as storehouse and in troubled times as fortress. The rooms are mortgaged for 5 to 20 douros. The [465] guard, changed every year, collects a kharrouba of barley, one kharrouba of maize, and a pound of almonds.